

Dr. Tho. H. Webb



# Herald of Freedom.

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## Selected Poetry.

### Song of the Free.

BY J. O. WHITTIER.

Pride of New England!  
Soul of our Fathers!  
Shrink we all craven-like,  
When the storm gathers,  
What though the trumpet be  
Over us lowering,  
Where is the New Englander  
Shamefully cowering!  
Graves green and holy,  
Around us are lying,  
Free were the sleepers all,  
Lies and a name!

Back with the Southern's  
Fadocks and scowrs!  
Go--let him fester down  
Ocean's free surges!  
Go--let him silence  
Winds, clouds and waters,  
Never New England's own  
Free sons and daughters!  
Free as our rivers are,  
Ocean ward going--  
Free as the breezes are  
Over us blowing.

Up to our altars, then,  
Hate we, and summon  
Courage and loveliness,  
Manhood and woman!  
Deep let our pledges be:  
Freedom for ever!  
True with oppression,  
Never, oh! never!

By our own birthright gift,  
Granted of Heaven,  
Freedom of heart and lip,  
Be the pledge given!

If we have whispered truth,  
Whisper no longer;  
Speak as the trumpet does,  
Stern and stronger!  
Still be the tones of truth,  
Lead--and armer!  
Scouring the hateful South  
With the deep murmur:  
God and our charter's right,  
Freedom for ever!  
True with oppression,  
Never, oh! never!

## Kansas Matters.

### Defence of Kansas.

BY HENRY WALD BEECHER.

A battle is to be fought. If we are  
to be free, it will be bloodless. If we listen  
to the pusillanimous counsels of men  
who have never shown one sympathizing  
throb for liberty, we shall have blood  
to the horses' bridles. If we are firm  
and prompt to obvious duty, if we stand  
by the men of Kansas and give them all  
the help that they need, the flame of war  
will be quenched before it bursts forth,  
and both the East and the West, and  
the East, shall, after some angry mutter-  
ings, rest down in peace. But if our ears  
are poisoned by the advice of men who  
never rebuke violence on the side of pow-  
er, who never fail to inveigh against the  
self-defense of wronged liberty, we shall  
invite aggression and civil war. And  
let us know assuredly that civil war will  
not break forth in Kansas without spread-  
ing. Now, if bold wisdom prevails, the  
conflict will be settled afar off in Kansas,  
and without blows or blood. But timidity  
and indifference will bring down  
blows there which will not only echo in  
our houses, hitherward, but will, by and  
by, lay the foundation for an armed strug-  
gle between the whole North and South.  
Shall we let the spark kindle, or shall we  
quench it now? But, that the intelligent  
citizens may be the better judge, let the facts  
of this case be reviewed.

torpid foot of slavery, can move or start.  
Liberty is so rich that it is apt to fer-  
ment. Slavery is but a single selfish-  
ness, and is not embarrassed by conflict-  
ing interests. Liberty, breeding innum-  
erable industries, and stirring within  
men life and independence, is full of di-  
visions and strifes. Slavery cannot split.  
It is thin, gaunt, compact, tenacious. In  
productive organizing force, liberty is  
mighty; in councils and concert she is  
weak. In creative force slavery is imbe-  
cile, but in ambition and in council a unit  
and efficient.

If the South were to attempt to cope  
with the North in the field of Kansas,  
by simple emigration, taking possession  
of the land for industry, they would be  
defeated before they began. This was  
apparent. The only hope lay in violence.  
Violence was tried. At the hiss of an  
unscrupulous man, hordes of wild and  
indolent fellows that hang around the  
towns and cities of slave States, a gigan-  
tic vermin, rushed into Kansas, crushed  
the free and actual settlers at the polls,  
and by a wholesale fraud not even dis-  
guised, reared up a Legislature whose of-  
fice it was to forge laws for the benefit of  
slavery and for the extinction of liberty.  
And well they performed their work.

Consider this wrong, O ye freemen of  
the North! This was the Territory given  
to freedom by the God who made it;  
by the institutions and spirit of the  
country which owned it; by the desires  
of the North, and by the most solemn  
agreements of the South.

When the day came for freedom to  
take it, the South broke down its treach-  
erous promises, opened the gates, and let  
forth its children to enter the race against  
liberty; yet solemnly declaring that the  
one which took possession first, should hold  
and control it. Free settlers took it.  
Slavery lagged behind and lost it.

Seeing itself defeated in this nefarious  
scheme, the South, treacherous again,  
poured armed men across her border to  
plant, by violence, a Legislature there,  
and the coerced and fraudulent Legisla-  
ture dared to legalize slavery, to defend  
it against even discussion, by binding a  
law around every free throat like a halter.  
Lest it be thought that we exaggerate, we  
give two sections of the laws of this  
pseudo Legislature:

"Sec. 11. If any person print, write,  
introduce into, publish or circulate, or  
cause to be brought into, printed, written,  
published or circulated, or shall know-  
ingly aid or assist in bringing into, print-  
ing, publishing or circulating, within  
this Territory, any book, paper, handbill,  
pamphlet, magazine or circular, contain-  
ing statements, arguments, opinions,  
sentiment, doctrine, advice or intendo,  
calculated to produce a disorderly, dan-  
gerous, or rebellious disaffection among  
the slaves of this Territory, or to induce  
such slaves to escape from the service of  
their masters, or to resist their authority,  
he shall be guilty of felony, and be pun-  
ished by imprisonment for a term not  
less than five years.

"Sec. 12. If any free person, by  
speaking or writing, assert or maintain  
that persons have not the right to hold  
slaves in this Territory, or shall intro-  
duce into this Territory, print, publish,  
write, circulate, or cause to be intro-  
duced into this Territory, written, printed,  
published or circulated in this Territory,  
any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet,  
or circular, containing any denial of the  
right of persons to hold slaves in this  
Territory, such person shall be deemed  
guilty of felony, and punished by im-  
prisonment at hard labor, for a term of  
not less than two years."

It was to such laws that armed scound-  
rels of Missouri swore that the free set-  
tlers of Kansas should submit. Northern  
men, taught to think, to read, to dis-  
cuss, to make the commerce of opinions  
free as the air that surrounded them,  
though in an immense majority, were re-  
quired by a pitiful crew of wretches,  
thrust over the border of the State, for  
the mere purpose of violence, to accept  
these laws that outrage every instigation  
of the land, and every historic anteced-  
ent of our country, or be cut down and  
shot. It was thought, perhaps, that these  
sturdy settlers could be made to throw  
up the undignified milk of liberty, as eas-  
ily as they do who disgrace New Eng-  
land in the chief places of government  
at Washington. But the men of Kansas  
were men of stomach. They had dis-  
gusted every crumb of liberty. It had  
gone into their blood and bones. It had  
fashioned their heart and conscience. It  
had made men and Christians of them.

When the ill-gathered rabble drew  
near to Lawrence, threatening to raise it  
to the ground unless they would yield up  
every sentiment of honor, and fall down  
before Satan and worship him, the men  
of Lawrence raised their defenses, and  
took their arms, determined to beat off  
violence by force.

That courage saved them. The ride  
brought peace. Had they been unarm-  
ed, had they been pusillanimous, had  
they had such Christians as infest the  
North, who justify arms for tyrants, but  
inveigh against self-defense on the side  
of freedom, we should have had a mon-  
strous tragedy of violence and blood.

The storm was held back but not dis-  
persed. The same men are still in Kan-  
sas, face to face.

The same ruthless assaults from the  
South will be renewed. The same man-  
ly breasts will meet the war. Already  
we hear the mutterings in the clouds of  
those thunder-voices which will yet roll  
over the prairies and reverberate along  
the Alleghenies! There is but a little

time, but that little may save us from  
civil war! It is a spark now. A foot  
may tread it out. But if it kindles, it  
will sweep the prairies in sheets of flame.  
The foot that should tread it out was bred  
among the New Hampshire hills. But  
the shadow of the Government, black as  
midnight, falls upon Free State men; its  
lurid smile is with the aggressor. When  
God stood among the oppressed, Egypt  
was dark and Goshen was light. In our  
day, Rulers cast the blaze of full favor  
upon Egypt, and the scorn and black-  
ness of their wrath upon Goshen!

Who, then, are these armed men that  
already confront each other, and between  
whom this whole land is called to decide?  
How have they come into this Territory,  
and what are their errands? On the one  
side are the representatives of civilization,  
on the other of barbarism. On the one  
side stand men of liberty, Christianity,  
industry, arts, and of universal pros-  
perity; on the other are the waste and  
refuse materials of a worn out slave State  
population--men whose ideas of society  
and civilization are comprised in the  
terms a rifle, a horse, a hound, a slave,  
tobacco and whisky; beyond these there  
is nothing but an annual uproarious  
camp-meeting, where they get just  
enough religion to enable them to find  
out that the Bible justifies all the immeas-  
urable vices and wrongs of slavery. The  
Free State men come hither with books,  
with newspapers, with free schools, with  
Lyceums, with churches, and the whole  
rejoice of beneficent institutions of Chris-  
tian civilization.

The slave State men without books,  
without education enough to read if they  
had them, without schools or a wish for  
them. They came with statutes framed  
for making free thought a sin, free speech  
a penitentiary offence, a free press pun-  
ishable with death if in the least loos-  
ens the bonds of oppression.

The men of the North come with rare  
industry; with mechanic arts, with all  
the improved implements of husbandry.  
They build towns; they found cities;  
they convert a wilderness to a garden, and  
will transmit to coming generations an  
inheritance such as Old England and  
such as New England never saw.

The men of the South, reared where  
labor was a disgrace, and without mechan-  
ic arts, without habits of industry, with-  
out organizing tendencies, without the  
creative force which build up new socie-  
ties. They come to curse the land with  
a system of husbandry which the earth  
detests, as well it may, for the foot of the  
slave burdens the soil like fire. It is the  
agriculture of impoverishment. If the  
husbandry of improvement. If the  
South inoculates the State with her lep-  
rous, the plains of Kansas are fairer and  
richer to-day as a wilderness than they  
ever will be again. For slavery robs  
the soil of its fertility, and then the soil  
sucks the blood from everything it touches.  
And nothing can fatten upon it, except  
the cunning leg that sit upon the middle  
of the web--over-saturned spiders--while  
the rest swing in the edges thereof, mere  
skeleton insects.

The men of the North come upon the  
best, and the men of the South upon the  
worst errand that ever engaged men.  
Peace, and light, and love, and joy go  
with the one--war, and blood, and cru-  
elty, and wasting and despair, go with  
the other.

The representatives of civilization have  
come lawfully, peacefully, to become ac-  
tual settlers. The representatives of bar-  
barism have come unlawfully, violently,  
with no intent of residence, but only to  
put the sword to the throat of freedom,  
and the brand to their dwellings, and then  
to leave to the slow immigration of slav-  
ery this stained victory.

There never was so strong an appeal  
to public sympathy as that which is pre-  
sented in the case of Kansas free settlers.  
Their emigration was a mission of mer-  
cy, full of the ripest fruits of Christian-  
ity. Their conduct has been noble,  
they have borne hardships without fal-  
tering; they have borne outrage and  
persecution with patience, returning good  
for evil. They have suffered wrongs,  
manifold and infinitely provoking, without  
retaliation. When aggression on one  
occasion was pushed so sorely that their  
patience failed, some of the men said,  
"We cannot bear such wrong." The  
reply made by Pomeroy will become a  
maxim of Christian men: "Be patient!  
your wrongs are your very strength!"

When the armed day came, and their  
adversaries came out to consume them,  
then, and only then, they took up arms,  
and surrounded their home with living  
men, determined not to attack, but never  
to surrender.

They stood on free soil. They felt  
free hearts beating in their bosoms. But  
no flag of their country waved over their  
heads. An army of the United States,  
made up mostly of aliens, carried the  
flag of their country over to the side of  
their persecutors. Yet, deserted, be-  
trayed and wronged beyond the measure  
of any but heroic patience they nobly  
redeemed their lives, and, without one  
drop of blood spilt, scattered their foes.  
Shall the prayers, the help, the sympa-  
thy of the free men of the North be  
withheld, while the bugle is sounded  
through the South, and men are gather-  
ing, and weeks only are left between this  
day and that on which battle shall once  
more unfold its wings--not again to be  
closed until the earth has drunk blood to  
its fill?

But, if, with prompt liberality, we for-  
tify those heroic men who are there, the  
emissaries of evil will come up, look, be

afraid, and pass away. False peace will  
bring certain war. Arms and courage  
will inevitably secure an unbroken peace.  
Once, when England only asserted the  
right to tax her colonies without repre-  
sentation, the colonies rebelled and went  
to war. But now a foreign Legislature  
has been imposed upon Kansas. That  
Legislature has legalized slavery against  
the known wishes of nine-tenths of the  
actual settlers. It has been decreed that  
no man shall enter the Territory who  
will not take an oath of allegiance to this  
spurious legislation. It has made it  
death to give liberty to men escaping  
from oppression. It has muzzled the  
press. It has forbidden discussion. It has  
made free speech a penitentiary offence.  
The rights for which the old colonists  
fought were superficial, compared with  
these. These are rights which lie at the  
very heart of personal freedom, when  
free speech, a free press, a free canvas  
and discussion are penitentiary offences!  
These are the laws that the President is  
determined to enforce! Congress is to  
be asked for money to sustain this gov-  
ernment in Kansas; and to pay for an  
army to cut the throat of every free citi-  
zen who will not yield to this infamy!

Already the Senate, controlled by the  
slave interest, arrogantly offers to snatch  
from the House its immemorial right of  
originating Appropriation Bills. The  
pretence is to save money. The reason  
is to gain money for the Kansas butchery.  
They fear that the House will not ap-  
propriate for such a nefarious abomination  
as that which broods the Plains. The  
Senate knows that every dollar voted for  
the army and for Kansas will, in the  
hands of the Administration, be a bullet  
in the heart of every free settler. The  
House ought to know it too, and act ac-  
cordingly. The whole country ought to  
know it.

New England has given to the land a  
President who is determined that Kansas  
shall have slavery or blood. His second  
proclamation is like the apocalyptic vi-  
sion: "And the second angel sounded,  
and as it were, a great mountain burn-  
ing with fire was cast into the sea; and  
the third part of the sea became blood." So  
will armed slavery be cast into Kan-  
sas. But will not these rivers of blood  
dash against the Alleghenies, and that  
fire flash along between the North and  
South?

Peace in Kansas will be peace every-  
where. War there will be war all over  
the land. Now it can be stopped. But  
fear will not do it. A truculent peace  
will not do it. Indolence and presumptu-  
ous prayer will but hasten the mischief.  
When tyrants are in arms, they who  
cry peace become their confederates.  
Manliness, action, courage, and ample  
preparations for defence, will stop the  
danger. The Providence that will help  
us, is that Providence which we help.  
God works for those who work for him.  
When He answers prayer for harvests, He  
inspires them to pray--and petitions for  
crops and harvests are answered through  
plows and spades. And God will an-  
swer prayers for peace by inspiring men  
with justice, with abhorrence of oppres-  
sion, by making good men bold and ac-  
tive, and bad men feeble and cowardly,  
by stopping the ears of the community  
to the counsels of cowards and hypocrites.

Let every man in this awful crisis not  
fail to pray. And that they may pray  
without hypocrisy, let them watch and  
work. How shall we dare ask God to  
save us from bloodshed, when we will  
not use the means which he has put in  
our hands? Faith, without works, and  
prayer, without works, are dead, sense-  
less. Let emigrants go thither by hun-  
dreds, and pray as they go. Let them  
that have money now, pour it out, and  
pray as they give. Let them that have  
swords in Kansas send them arms, and pray  
that they may have no occasion to use  
them; but if they must be used, that the  
soul may be ashamed of the son whom  
she bore! Let men that have influence,  
speak out. Let ministers and Christian  
freemen now, if ever, speak out against  
barbarism, and uphold the whole residue  
of Christian institutions! Let those  
whose tongues have hitherto been palsied  
by evil advisers, now loosen their tongues  
and speak!

Of whom will the land take counsel?  
There have been two sorts of counsellors  
hitherto. One has pointed out for twen-  
ty years the nature of slavery, its tenden-  
cies, the dangers which it threatened; and  
all the prophecies have come true.  
The other kind of counsellors have pre-  
dicted peace, dissuaded from action, urged  
compromise, and at each reluctant  
step have promised the contrary peace.

In not a single instance have they been  
right. Events have overthrown every  
one of their promises. They have led  
us down deeper into trouble at every  
step. We have been betrayed by kisses.  
Excitements have deepened. Compromises  
have bred cockatrices. We are spun  
over with webs. We are tangled  
with sophistries. We have everything  
but manliness, straightforwardness, cour-  
age and decisive wisdom. Our capital  
is not in ruins, and yet the prophecy  
against the old oriental city has come  
true; foxes look out of the windows;  
owls hoot there, and satyrs dance their  
orgies there. That infernal dog of a  
hundred heads--Slavery--sits at the gate  
of our government to bite every one who  
will not give a sop to Cerberus. All this  
we receive at the hands of the very men  
who are again abroad with a pious hor-  
ror of self-defence, and treacherous coun-

selfs for a more treacherous peace.  
But what is gone must be done quick-  
ly. Funds must be freely given. Arms  
must be had even if bought at the price  
mentioned by our Savior: "He that hath  
no sword, let him sell his garment and  
buy one."--Luke 22: 36. Young men  
who would do aught for liberty, should  
take no counsel of fear. Now is the  
time when a man may do for his country  
in an hour more, than in a whole life be-  
side. Time flies. Events hasten. Fear,  
and treacherous peace, that betray duty  
with treacherous words of religion, will  
win all. But energy, courage, action  
will save all. Woe to us! If it comes, on  
the skirts will its blood be found!--A. Y.  
Independent.

**Kansas Meeting.**  
In pursuance of a printed call, a meet-  
ing of the citizens of New Castle, Pa.,  
and the region round about, assembled  
in the Public School Hall, on the even-  
ing of the 23d ult., to take into consid-  
eration the present social and political  
condition of the people of Kansas Territory  
and their duty in relation to them.

The meeting organized by calling Dr.  
A. T. Davis to the Chair, and appointing  
Joseph Kissick, David Emery, Dr. Wm.  
Shaw, Sam'l Vanhorn and Hon. John  
Reynolds, Vice Presidents, and Wm. H.  
Shaw and Wm. McClymonds, as Sec-  
retaries.

At the request of the Chairman, Rev.  
Robert A. Brown, stated in a lucid and  
satisfactory manner the objects had in  
view in thus coming together, when a  
committee composed of Dr. D. Leasure,  
Rev. R. A. Brown, Hon. John Reynolds,  
G. C. Morgan, Esq., and Rev. A. B.  
Bradford, was appointed to prepare busi-  
ness for the meeting. After a brief ab-  
sence, during which the Convention was  
instructed by remarks on the subject in  
hand, from Messrs. J. N. Euwer, and S.  
Vanhorn, the committee reported the fol-  
lowing preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, The repeal of the Missouri  
Compromise, and the passage of the  
Kansas-Nebraska bill by the thirty-third  
Congress, has directly brought about the  
long anticipated and much dreaded  
collision between the conflicting and op-  
posite interests of free and slave labor in  
the United States; and whereas, the  
field of conflict has been transferred  
from Congress to the Territory of Kan-  
sas, where the law-making and law-re-  
pealing power decided that its settle-  
ment should be left to the decision of a fairly  
assembled majority of the actual set-  
tlers. And whereas, large numbers of  
our friends and brethren in the North,  
as well as equal, and possibly superior  
numbers from the South, have emigrated  
to Kansas, with the honest intention of  
making it their future home, carrying  
with them their families, their fortunes,  
and their household gods. And whereas,  
a very large majority of them, without  
reference to former parties or locality of  
birth place, were, and are, evidently in  
favor of making Kansas a free State,  
without wishing to interfere in the least  
with the institution of slavery where it  
already exists by statute law or usage,  
being only anxious to give to themselves  
and posterity the fair fields of Kansas  
made sacred to free labor; and whereas,  
the slavery propagandists of Missouri,  
well aware of these facts, and not will-  
ing to trust the real citizens of the Ter-  
ritory with the organization of a Terri-  
torial government, imported thousands of  
armed and desperate ruffians to over-  
come the peaceable squatters, and force  
upon them a pro-slavery legislature, by  
casting illegal votes, and preventing  
those legally qualified from having access  
to the ballot-box, thus violating in the  
most outrageous manner, the so much  
vaunted principle of squatter sovereignty,  
as it was set forth in Congress by the  
advocates of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.  
And whereas the citizens of Kansas feel-  
ing themselves aggrieved and outraged  
by those hordes of lawless strangers,  
who usurped their franchises--and be-  
lieving it was their right to institute laws  
and a government for themselves, subject  
to the Constitutional guarantees, and for  
that end peaceably called an election af-  
ter due preliminary steps, at which elec-  
tion every real citizen of the Territory  
had an equal chance to be heard, thus  
giving a fair and explicit expression of  
the will of the people; and whereas, a  
forcible invasion of their country was  
made by armed and desperate men, who  
were lashed into fury by the ex parte  
and false representations of artful and de-  
vising demagogues until they vowed to  
drive the free State men from the Terri-  
tory or carry death and destruction to  
their hearths and homes, and in at least  
three instances putting their threats to  
a bloody execution, murdering three citi-  
zens in cold blood, under circumstances  
of revolting atrocity, thus kindling the  
horrible fire of civil war amongst a peo-  
ple already sufficiently burdened by the  
labors and anxieties incident to the set-  
tlement of the wilderness, and diverting  
them from their peaceful avocations, to  
defend the hearthstone from violence and  
bloodshed. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That our deepest sym-  
pathies are with the free squatters of Kan-  
sas, and that we honor them for bravely  
standing up for, and defending, their  
rights against the crusades of Border  
Ruffians, who threatened to exterminate  
them or drive them from their claims.

Resolved, That a fund be established  
by contributions of citizens of New  
Castle and vicinity, to defray the expen-  
ses of actual settlers who may desire to

pre-empt land claims, and to equip them  
as may be needed for the defence of their  
rights as American citizens.

Resolved, That we disclaim any inten-  
tion on our part to interfere, in any il-  
legal or unworthy manner, with the vested  
rights of any individual in Kansas,  
whether free or slave State man; and  
only accept the ultimatum of squatter  
sovereignty, as it was forced upon us,  
and ask for our brethren in Kansas fair  
play, not favor.

Resolved, That Dr. Leasure, Wm.  
McClymond, J. Reynolds, R. W. Stewart  
and Wm. H. Shaw, be appointed to re-  
ceive contributions, and names of emi-  
grants, and report to a subsequent meet-  
ing, not favor.

These resolutions were discussed by  
Rev. R. A. Brown, Hon. J. Reynolds,  
Rev. A. B. Bradford and others, and  
unanimously adopted.

Dr. D. Leasure then offered the fol-  
lowing resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That a free press must be  
sustained in Kansas, to give to the world  
a fair history of the progress of the great  
struggle for free Territory, about to be  
waged in Kansas against the invading  
myriads of Atchison and Stringfel-  
low.

The Doctor supported the resolution  
by a warm and earnest appeal on behalf  
of the free State settlers, and free press  
of Kansas, and especially on behalf of  
the Kansas Herald of Freedom, edited  
and published at Lawrence city, Kansas,  
by Geo. W. Brown, formerly of the  
Conneautville Courier, Crawford coun-  
ty, Pa.

The committee constituted by the  
fourth resolution, next proceeded to take  
contributions to aid in carrying out the  
objects which it contemplates, and secur-  
ed \$157. Three individuals, S. D. Boul-  
ton, S. Robinson, and D. W. Freeman,  
entered their names as volunteers for  
Kansas. They design making that Terri-  
tory their permanent home.

The minutes were ordered to be pub-  
lished, and a copy sent respectively to  
Geo. W. Brown, of the Kansas Herald  
of Freedom, and one to Hon. John Al-  
lison, our member in Congress.

The meeting then adjourned, to as-  
semble again on Saturday evening,  
March 1st, at 6 1-2 o'clock.

A. T. DAVIS, Pres.  
Wm. H. SHAW, Sec'ries.  
Wm. McClymonds, } Sec'ries.

**Slavery--Sentiments of Virginian's**  
Dead.

It is often asserted that the people of  
the North should keep silent upon the  
object of slavery, because they know lit-  
tle or nothing about it. Well, then,  
hear those who have known something  
about it, who have left their testimonies  
behind, and gone the way of all the earth.  
The following persons, whose testimonies  
are given, were all, I believe, natives of  
the State of Virginia. Consequently  
they had ample opportunity to behold  
the good or bad effects of slavery. But  
as to its benefits they have said nothing,  
and as to its evils they have spoken out  
freely, as follows:

George Washington.--"There is only  
one proper and effectual mode by which  
abolition can be accomplished, and that  
is, by the legislative authority, and as  
far as my suffrage will go, shall not  
be wanting."

Thomas Jefferson.--"I tremble for my  
country when I reflect that God is just,  
and that his justice cannot sleep forever.  
The Almighty has no attribute which  
can take sides with us in such a contest."

PATRICK HENRY. "It is a debt we owe  
to the purity of our religion, to show  
that it is at variance with that law which  
warrants slavery. As for me, give me  
liberty or give me death."

Governor Tyler. "My earnest desire  
is, that it shall be handed down to pos-  
terity that I oppose this wicked clause."

Governor Randolph. "That the aboli-  
tion of slavery will result from the  
Constitution! I hope no one will be so  
dishonorable to Virginia, as to make this  
an objection."

JAMES MADISON. "I conceive the Con-  
stitution was formed, in order that the  
government might save ourselves from  
reproaches, and our posterity from the  
imbecility ever attendant on a country  
filled with slaves."

JAMES MONROE. "This evil has preyed  
upon the very vitals of the Union,  
and has been prejudicial to all the states  
in which it has existed."

JOHN RANDOLPH. "Sir! I never envy  
the head nor the heart of that man from  
the North, who rises here to defend slav-  
ery from principle."

GEN. HENRY LEE. "The Constitution  
of the United States having done so much  
it is to be lamented that a provision had  
not been made for the gradual abolition  
of slavery."

JUDGE TUCKER. "Should we not, at  
the time of the revolution, have broken  
their fetters?"

WILLIAM WIRT. "Last and worse,  
a feculum of beings, called overseers--the  
most abject, degraded, unprincipled  
race."

RICHARD HENRY LEE. "Slaves must  
be natural enemies."

GEORGE MAZOS. "The augmentation  
of slaves, weakens States, and such a  
trade is diabolical in itself, and disgraceful  
to mankind."

Governor PAGE. He placed himself in  
the condition of a slave, and if anything  
could induce him to rebel, it must be a  
stroke impressing upon his mind the hor-  
rors of despair.

MR. PARKER. He hoped Congress  
would do all that lay in their power, to  
restore to human nature its inherent  
privileges.

GEORGE WYTHE. To the day of his  
death, he was for simple abolition, con-  
sidering the objection to color, as found  
in prejudice.

The reader will readily perceive that  
the above persons are included among the  
most distinguished of our country. Some  
of them were Presidents, Governors,  
members of Congress, &c. They are  
everywhere held in high estimation for  
their talents, the soundness of their judg-  
ments, and the conspicuous offices of  
trust which they have occupied. They  
are looked up to with veneration and  
respect. How often are their names re-  
ferred to in the discussion of different  
subjects. And their testimonies are  
considered as emanating from minds of  
the highest order, and worth the attention  
of all. Upon the subject of slavery they  
have expressed their opinions without  
reserve. They desired to have their senti-  
ments distinctly understood by the gen-  
eration to come. They have shown, in  
the plainest language, that they were ut-  
terly opposed to the existence and con-  
tinuation of an evil fraught with so much  
misery, wretchedness, and woe, to the  
human race as that of slavery. O who  
would not hearken to the appeals of the  
dead? Who would not endeavor to be  
profited by the advice they have given to  
the world? Who would not strive to  
carry into execution the measures which  
they had in view? Who would not  
cherish the sentiments which they cher-  
ished, while taking a view of this crying  
sin?

Let pro-slavery men of the North, as  
well as the slaveholders of the South,  
take this matter into serious consideration.  
Let them adopt the language of their  
predecessors, and as far as practicable,  
exert an influence which will be felt  
throughout the wide domain of Slavery.  
Yes, let every heart feel, every tongue  
speak, and every pen describe the sad  
evils existing among us, till they are re-  
moved and forever banished from this  
blessed land of professed freedom, civi-  
lization, and religion.

Let the man who would be happy,  
must experience contentment. A man  
may be rolling in riches, and yet be mis-  
erable, while his poor neighbor, knowing  
how to appreciate what little he has, is  
contented and happy.

At the adoption of our constitution, a  
system of slavery, thought to be then  
declining, and that would be rejected by  
the *vis medicatrix* of the spirit of liberty  
among the people and in their institu-  
tions, received unexpected vigor and  
growth, from various commercial and  
political reasons; and from being a mere  
peccant humor in the blood, it has well  
nigh come to the blood itself of this  
great government! So that with an out-  
ward form of freedom, with laws and in-  
stitutions bearing the civil aspect of lib-  
erty, the veins of this government are  
filled with black blood, and the heart and  
every artery beats with the fatal current  
of slavery.

In 1819 slavery demanded a portion  
of free territory. It was refused. The  
fierce battle that followed was not fought  
out to the end as it should have been.  
The compromise of 1820--like every  
compromise since, and like all compromises  
since the world began, between un-  
scrupulous Power and timid Liberty--  
was but a device of Knavery for taking  
breath. The peace always promised for  
such concession is a peace for repairing  
damages, for forging arms, and for ar-  
ranging new influences and implements.  
Liberty was bribed to yield a noble pro-  
vince to the devastations of slavery, with  
the solemn guaranty that no slavery  
should ever touch soil north of a given  
line; that, by the moral pledge of the  
whole South, was made inviolate to free-  
dom. It was a treacherous pact. It was  
hollow from the beginning. While the  
territory concerned lay far beyond the  
reach of emigration, while it was a hun-  
ter's wilderness, it was not molested.  
The moment that the growth of our  
country brought our population to the  
borders of this territory, and it was soon  
to be settled, Slavery, without an appeal  
to the people, without the suspicion of  
the coming up of such a question in  
Congress, by a *coup d'etat*, annulled this  
agreement for liberty, and declared Kan-  
sas and Nebraska alike open to all set-  
tlers, that their institutions should  
be determined for freedom or slavery ac-  
cording to the will of their actual set-  
tlers.

The feet of freedom are nimble. The  
feet of slavery, shod with iron for crush-  
ing, move slowly. A thousand free set-  
tlers will move with all the utensils to  
a region, before a hundred men, with the

Sec. 11. If any person print, write,  
introduce into, publish or circulate, or  
cause to be brought into, printed, written,  
published or circulated, or shall know-  
ingly aid or assist in bringing into, print-  
ing, publishing or circulating, within  
this Territory, any book, paper, handbill,  
pamphlet, magazine or circular, contain-  
ing statements, arguments, opinions,  
sentiment, doctrine, advice or intendo,  
calculated to produce a disorderly, dan-  
gerous, or rebellious disaffection among  
the slaves of this Territory, or to induce  
such slaves to escape from the service of  
their masters, or to resist their authority,  
he shall be guilty of felony, and be pun-  
ished by imprisonment for a term not  
less than five years.

Sec. 12. If any free person, by  
speaking or writing, assert or maintain  
that persons have not the right to hold  
slaves in this Territory, or shall intro-  
duce into this Territory, print, publish,  
write, circulate, or cause to be intro-  
duced into this Territory, written, printed,  
published or circulated in this Territory,  
any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet,  
or circular, containing any denial of the  
right of persons to hold slaves in this  
Territory, such person shall be deemed  
guilty of felony, and punished by im-  
prisonment at hard labor, for a term of  
not less than two years."

It was to such laws that armed scound-  
rels of Missouri swore that the free set-  
tlers of Kansas should submit. Northern  
men, taught to think, to read, to dis-  
cuss, to make the commerce of opinions  
free as the air that surrounded them,  
though in an immense majority, were re-  
quired by a pitiful crew of wretches,  
thrust over the border of the State, for  
the mere purpose of violence, to accept  
these laws that outrage every instigation  
of the land, and every historic anteced-  
ent of our country, or be cut down and  
shot. It was thought, perhaps, that these  
sturdy settlers could be made to throw  
up the undignified milk of liberty, as eas-  
ily as they do who disgrace New Eng-  
land in the chief places of government  
at Washington. But the men of Kansas  
were men of stomach. They had dis-  
gusted every crumb of liberty. It had  
gone into their blood and bones. It had  
fashioned their heart and conscience. It  
had made men and Christians of them.

When the ill-gathered rabble drew  
near to Lawrence, threatening to raise it  
to the ground unless they would yield up  
every sentiment of honor, and fall down  
before Satan and worship him, the men  
of Lawrence raised their defenses, and  
took their arms, determined to beat off  
violence by force.

That courage saved them. The ride  
brought peace. Had they been unarm-  
ed, had they been pusillanimous, had  
they had such Christians as infest the  
North, who justify arms for tyrants, but  
inveigh against self-defense on the side  
of freedom, we should have had a mon-  
strous tragedy of violence and blood.

The storm was held back but not dis-  
persed. The same men are still in Kan-  
sas, face to face.

The same ruthless assaults from the  
South will be renewed. The same man-  
ly breasts will meet the war. Already  
we hear the mutterings in the clouds of  
those thunder-voices which will yet roll  
over the prairies and reverberate along  
the Alleghenies! There is but a little

time, but that little may save us from  
civil war! It is a spark now. A foot  
may tread it out. But if it kindles, it  
will sweep the prairies in sheets of flame.  
The foot that should tread it out was bred  
among the New Hampshire hills. But  
the shadow of the Government, black as  
midnight, falls upon Free State men; its  
lurid smile is with the aggressor. When  
God stood among the oppressed, Egypt  
was dark and Goshen was light. In our  
day, Rulers cast the blaze of full favor  
upon Egypt, and the scorn and black-  
ness of their wrath upon Goshen!

Who, then, are these armed men that  
already confront each other, and between  
whom this whole land is called to decide?  
How have they come into this Territory,  
and what are their errands? On the one  
side are the representatives of civilization,  
on the other of barbarism. On the one  
side stand men of liberty, Christianity,  
industry, arts, and of universal pros-  
perity; on the other are the waste and  
refuse materials of a worn out slave State  
population--men whose ideas of society  
and civilization are comprised in the  
terms a rifle, a horse, a hound, a slave,  
tobacco and whisky; beyond these there  
is nothing but an annual uproarious  
camp-meeting, where they get just  
enough religion to enable them to find  
out that the Bible justifies all the immeas-  
urable vices and wrongs of slavery. The  
Free State men come hither with books,  
with newspapers, with free schools, with  
Lyceums, with churches, and the whole  
rejoice of beneficent institutions of Chris-  
tian civilization.

The slave State men without books,  
without education enough to read if they  
had them, without schools or a wish for  
them. They came with statutes framed  
for making free thought a sin, free speech  
a penitentiary offence, a free press pun-  
ishable with death if in the least loos-  
ens the bonds of oppression.

The men of the North come with rare  
industry; with mechanic arts, with all  
the improved implements of husbandry.  
They build towns; they found cities;  
they convert a wilderness to a garden, and  
will transmit to coming generations an  
inheritance such as Old England and  
such as New England never saw.

The men of the South, reared where  
labor was a disgrace, and without mechan-  
ic arts, without habits of industry, with-  
out organizing tendencies, without the  
creative force which build up new socie-  
ties. They come to curse the land with  
a system of husbandry which the earth  
detests, as well it may, for the foot of the  
slave burdens the soil like fire. It is the  
agriculture of impoverishment. If the  
husbandry of improvement.